/62 cont./

583 being those who give a dowry to the daughter. This really is the most natural and reasonable thing.

During this time, then, newlyweds customarily clear fields for the in-laws, even more so for mothers-in-law if they are widows; they make canoes for them, build them houses, and provide them with other services. Most particularly they go out to hunt and fish for them; and it is their greatest pride and satisfaction to come to the house and throw on the ground the string of fish or the deer tied up by its legs, at the same time that they say: "Here is your little piece of game (or your little fish)."

137 134. We have more than sufficient data and proof that
● [684] Indians are customarily faithful and constant in their marriages; although there is not an absolute lack of cases in their stories of being whipped with hammock ropes or hooks, when bloodier action does not take place. /63/

595 135. We have spoken about polygamy in another chapter, to which we refer here.

582 We must also state, although without more explanation, that there is no prohibition of exogamic unions. This appears quite clear in the oral literature and in daily life. It is true that they prefer in general marriage with similar people, like the adage "like seeks like"; and in the literature marriage with foreigners, not as such but as unknowns, appears severely censured, like the one in the country song: "Who drinks water from a gourd -- and marries in a strange land, -- doesn't know whether the water is clean nor whether the woman is good."
[563] And old people do not customarily look very favorably on the marriage of their daughters with Creoles, however good they may be and however good their intentions are, because they carry them off far away and because instead of being helped by their sons-in-law, they frequently have to become servants of them, and, finally, because Creoles do not usually have the skills useful for the practical life of the Indians. The old

595 dawning consciousness of Christian folk-customs, but it was evident that the
[177] majority of men had only one wife and none was surely determined to have more
[643] than six. The cacique, although in general his tendency is to lead the tribe into more Europeanized ways, has several wives.

586 A man has the right to eject an unsatisfactory wife and a wife has the right to leave a man and in both cases the marriage is automatically and completely
[581] dissolved. These statements were so fully confirmed that the situation is no doubt a known one, but the Indians always added that husbands and wives do not, in fact, separate. From our own observations and records it cannot be doubted
587 that marriages are normally permanent. Widowers and widows remarry at will and without restriction. I could not learn that a widow was expected to, or normally did, marry her husband's brother, as occurs among some primitive peoples, but there is no restriction against this if it is desired.

582 There does not appear to be any strong feeling regarding incest. It is doubtful whether marriages between relatives of the first degree, brother and sister or parent and child, occur, but marriages of first cousins (although by no means obligatory, as in some tribes) are certainly permissible and so are marriages of uncle and niece and aunt and nephew. There is thus no requirement of exogamy (even first-degree incest is not absolutely rejected on moral grounds) and there is an equal absence of obligatory endogamy, marriages with members of other tribes are uncommon, because of lack of opportunity, but do occur
582 and are not considered abnormal or reprehensible in any way. Marriages with
563 Venezuelans have twice occurred, without any evident strong feeling, but there was some tendency to deprecate them and it is curious that these two unions, among all those on which we checked, were the only childless ones. From
● 684
563 rumor or gossip, not accurate information but probably with some basis, it appears that more casual cohabitation with Venezuelans (or other non-Indians) is, however, bitterly resented and that the offending outsiders have in at least one case been put to death.

589 There are very few unmarried adult females. Among the Indians definite-
848 ly recorded, only one adult female was unmarried, and she had a child, a fact
[582] not considered particularly discreditable to her or disabling to the child. That illegitimacy is so uncommon can be ascribed rather to early and almost universal marriage than to any moral reason.

582 Child-marriage was formerly common among some related tribes (although
[17] usually not consummated until puberty — another point emphasizing that the
[581] basis of marriage is not exclusively and perhaps not primarily sexual). It apparently does not now occur among Kamarakotos among whom the girls appear commonly to marry two or three years after the first onset of puberty.

589 All the older men are married, apparently without exception. Although
595 polygamy is far from universal, it is common enough to make the number of
162 marriageable girls constantly less than that of marriageable boys, so that there

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of 681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most [609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how- [684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably 674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde- 861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne- [177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply 439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re- [187] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that [171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327 - Gregory 116 - Analyst]